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Newspaper and citizenship classes and how to hold...

London

1909

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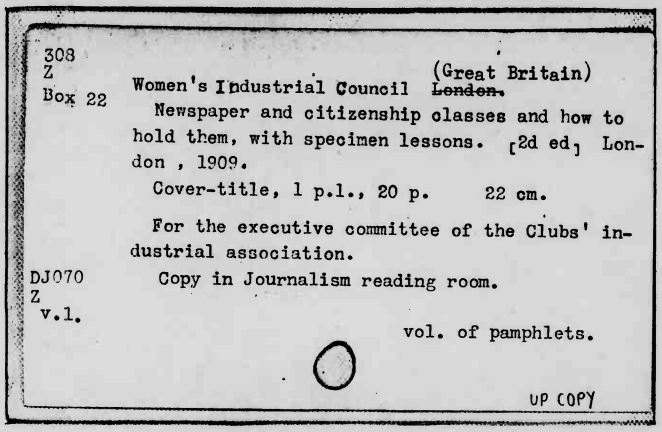

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Women's Industrial Council (Great Britain) ~~London.~~

Newspaper and citizenship classes and how to hold them, with specimen lessons. [2d ed.] London , 1909.

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For the executive committee of the Clubs' industrial association.

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AND HOW TO HOLD THEM, WITH SPECIMEN LESSONS.

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WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

7, JOHN STREET, ADELPHI STRAND, W.C.

Clubs' Industrial Association

President—Mrs. HICKS, 21, Rochester Square, N.W.

Hon. Sec.—Hon. L. H. MONTAGU, 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.

And an Executive Committee composed of Representatives of Affiliated Clubs.

OBJECTS.

To affiliate Girls' Clubs together in order to study industrial legislation, and, when opportunity arises, to improve the industrial conditions under which their members work. Affiliation Fee, one shilling (to be renewed annually).

METHODS.

1—The organisation of Lectures in individual Clubs, and at central meetings of groups of Clubs.

2—The spread of literature on industrial subjects.

3—The formation of Citizenship Classes in different parts of London.

4—The reporting to the Home Office through the Women's Industrial Council (thereby securing complete anonymity) of infringements of the law in factories and workshops.

NOTE.

The C.I.A. has improved the condition of several hundred workshops. It has never, since its formation in 1898, caused even one girl to lose her employment. It advises girls to consult their Club Leader as to the reality of the infringement before reporting it, and to be careful how they talk about it afterwards.

CLUB LEADERS

are invited to apply for lectures, literature, etc. Applications for affiliation, and reports of infringements should be sent to the Hon. Sec. The C.I.A. meets every two months, in the evening, for a lecture on some industrial subject, followed by a social evening. There is a social gathering in the summer.

Newspaper and Citizenship Classes

and how to hold them, with specimen lessons.

THE first edition of this pamphlet which was drawn up for the Executive Committee of the Clubs' Industrial Association and published in 1908 is exhausted, and the Committee feels that its evident usefulness justifies them in bringing out a second edition containing new model lessons. They are most grateful to Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, Miss Lefroy, Mrs. H. W. Macrosty, Mrs. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Mrs. Alfred Pollard, Miss Potter and Miss Spielmann, for the invaluable assistance so generously given.

The Committee hope that this little pamphlet may be the means of introducing the work of the Association to many Clubs which have not hitherto availed themselves of it.

A full statement of the aims and work of the Clubs Industrial Association will be found on the preceding page.

OBJECTS.

The main objects of a Newspaper and Citizenship Class are: —

1. To widen the intellectual outlook of working girls and to make them interested in the world outside their own special sphere, and thus to improve their sense of proportion, and increase their self-respect.

2. To increase the girls' knowledge of facts of economic, social and political interest, which directly affect their industrial position.

3. To train the girls' tastes so as to make them interested in the Newspaper as a whole instead of the more sensational parts only.

4. To render intercourse between fathers and daughters, brothers and sisters, boy and girl friends, more intellectual and helpful.

METHODS.

The Class should be as informal as possible, held in a Social rather than in a Class Room. The leader's efforts should be to stimulate rather than give instruction. She should never be guilty of "holding forth" for any consecutive time, but rather encourage the girls to formulate their views, steadying their standards rather than violently substituting her own. She can gradually and tactfully, in the service of truth, correct crude, extravagant, or anarchic thought. For example, she

may find that the girls consider the Landlord and the Tax Collector their natural enemies. It requires careful training before they can understand that these two individuals are factors in the great scheme of an economic State. The leader should supplement the knowledge of her Class from her own general experience, realising always that the girls' education ended at the age of fourteen, and making them understand the vastness of knowledge and reverence it accordingly. For example, it is not unusual for girls to consider history dull when they have only the crudest idea of its meaning—an idea culled from the School Reader. If history can be introduced by gentle interpellations, and its connection with actuality explained, the girls will be surprised at the new interest the study offers to them. The hurry with which girls pass through the school standards in order to enter the labour market does not stimulate any respect for knowledge, and makes them sometimes think that any subject which was suggested in their school years must not be dwelt upon during the first two years of industrial life, lest it interfere with the more practical issues of wage earning. Gradually, as they get older, the girls realise with pathetic intensity the gaps which were left in their education, and are only too grateful for the chance of assimilating new thought.

The leader should make a very free use of maps, pictures, photographs, or other apparatus, in order to make the subjects as concrete as possible. It is generally desirable for the Class to appoint one of their own members as Secretary, who will try to make the work of the Class known to the general body of members and so attract new students. It is also desirable to organise rambles to places of interest and institutions discussed in Class.

FURTHER SUGGESTIONS.

It is proposed to hold occasional Conferences between Clubs on subjects of topical interest studied separately in the Newspaper Classes. Debates (mixed or otherwise) increase the girls' interest in their studies. It is generally found advisable for leaders and members to confer together at the beginning of the Session as to the subjects of special interest which should be made the main subjects for discussion at the Classes. Thus, for example, if it is decided to follow Children's Legislation, or Factory Legislation, the girls should accustom themselves to follow these subjects in the daily paper, and bring cuttings which attract their attention, to the Leader, who may perhaps keep a Newspaper Cutting Book, which would serve as a record of interesting discussions. If any time remains after the special subjects* have been discussed in Class, it is well for the Leader to give a general survey of the week's events and to touch upon foreign politics. The Leader has in all instances to supply a historical background before she attempts to deal with subjects concerning foreign life or home politics.

* *See N.B. on Page 3.*

*It is often useful to keep a monthly calendar and fill it up with the chief events of the week after each lesson.

*The girls could make rough lists of news they had noticed in the papers during the week, and these might be dealt with shortly in the Class. By rejecting and amplifying what the girls contribute, guidance can be given for further reading, and the quality of the lists or notes can be improved. Also, a warning can be given to look out for further mention of important pieces of news.

It must be remembered that the girls have not much opportunity of access to a variety of papers, as they have not the time for extensive reading in the Free Libraries. It would therefore be useful to have a " News Sheet " hung up in some accessible place in the Club premises. A large sheet of cardboard would serve, on which could be hung newspaper articles, leaders, etc., with the name of the paper from which they are taken. The sheet could be renewed every week and the back sheets kept for reference. The Class Leader should prepare the sheet. Its presence in the Club would act as an advertisement for the Class and help to recruit new members.

(N.B.—An experienced teacher and student of economics, in criticising the foregoing suggestions, writes:—" It seems better to me always to begin with a short general survey of the week's news, based on what the girls themselves have noticed, and not to leave this until the special subject of study has been discussed. It is necessary to create and encourage this general interest in the world side by side with a deeper study of special subjects, and the latter is generally a result of the former.")

It is hoped in time, in connection with the Clubs Industrial Association, to form a Reference Library, from which Leaders may draw, and thus equip themselves for the work of the Class. When extremely controversial subjects are discussed it is impossible for the Leader not to show her own particular bias, and it would seem advisable to invite occasionally visitors representing other schools of thought, so that the girls may have the opportunity of hearing all sides of various questions. An interesting Competition might be arranged among the members of a Class to produce the best essay, which could be read at the Annual Meeting of the Clubs Industrial Association.

The following notes on special subjects are intended for the use of the Leader, and can be amplified by her according to her own inclination and the needs of her Class.

A GENERAL ELECTION.

Read The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom, by Leonard Courtney.

Test knowledge of class, to ensure words used being understood. A preliminary talk on Parliamentary procedure may be necessary.

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* *See N.B.*

A. Conditions which make a General Election necessary.

1. The Septennial Act.

No Parliament may sit longer than 7 years.

2. A Government defeat on an important measure.

In the last century, a Government always resigned if defeated on a vote in the House of Commons. But there is a tendency now to rely more upon 'the feeling of the country' than upon a chance division in the House (a snap vote). It does not follow that a Prime Minister will resign if defeated on one Bill unless it is a matter of first class importance.

3. Change of Ministry.

If a Prime Minister cannot hold his party together, or find a sufficient number of colleagues to act with him, or if for any other reason a new Ministry is formed, there must be an appeal to the country, but the old Parliament may be kept together long enough to dispose of current business.

4. Declaration of War.

As soon as war has been declared the Government usually appeals to the country, *e.g.*, Election of 1900, during the Boer War. Conservative Government returned with large majority to carry on the war.

5. Change of feeling in the Country.

This has come to be the real reason for a dissolution, though it is only recently that the electorate has been recognised as all-important, *e.g.* Election of 1906, when Balfour resigned though he had a majority in the House. Change of feeling in country shewn by Government defeats at Bye-elections, etc. Enormous Liberal majority proved this change of feeling.

6. Action of the House of Lords.

The exact extent of the power of the House of Lords is debateable, *e.g.*, 1893, it threw out Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, but he did not resign till 2 years later, and then the Conservatives were returned; this case seems to justify the Lords' claim that their action represented the feeling of the country.

B. Procedure of General Election.

1. Party Programme.

Each Party leader puts his programme before the country in a series of speeches, with reference also to the work just accomplished. The individual members elected in each constituency are pledged to support their party. The member independent of party or in disagreement on some points is now almost extinct. Pledges given by members on subjects not included in party programme are of practically no use.

2. The Theory of "A Mandate."

Very difficult to say how much truth there is in the theory that a Government has no right to pass measures which were not before the country at General Election, *e.g.*, Balfour's Education Bill, 1902, denounced because Election of 1900 turned on question of South African War. His refusal in 1905 to bring in Tariff Reform because not before country in 1900.

This theory complicated by fact that except in few cases, *e.g.*, a war, an election is not fought on one issue, *e.g.*, 1906, Free Trade, Chinese Labour, and Education were before country. What was actual mandate? How much did it include? Theory of mandate at present used as a form of party warfare.

C. General Remarks.

1. No fixed rules. English constitution is unwritten, is continually growing by custom and precedent. This is a good subject for illustrating living history and living citizenship, *e.g.*, the idea of a mandate practically unheard of in England before 1906. Chief reasons for a dissolution have been given but new ones are possible. In theory, the Prime Minister can choose the moment, and might do so merely to secure fresh support from the country for his measures. The expense and upheaval is so great that a General Election will not be lightly undertaken.

2. It is the supreme opportunity for voters to express approval or disapproval of the Government's policy.

D. Procedure.

With the help of the class a short account should then be given of the franchise, the registration, lists of voters, the work of the Returning Officer, the canvassing, polling booths, ballot, counting of votes, scrutiny, what is meant by bribery and corruption, the disfranchisement of a constituency, and the unseating of a member. The lesson might well end with 'the responsibility of the voter.'

PUBLIC FINANCE AND THE BUDGET.

(1) THE BUDGET is:—(*a*) the *National balance-sheet* giving valuation of national receipts and expenditure.

(*b*) *a legislative act* to authorise the various kinds and amounts of State expenditure, and the taxation which is to be raised to cover them.

(2) TAXES are a portion of private wealth, exacted from individuals by the State, for the purpose of meeting the expenditure essential to carrying out the functions of government.

(3) PUBLIC FINANCE differs from that of the private individual, in that the State makes its revenue (or income) fit its expenditure instead of vice-versa.

In every Budget we have, therefore, two problems:—(*a*) the proper subjects for expenditure; (*b*) the methods by which money should be raised for this expenditure.

(4) SUBJECTS FOR STATE EXPENDITURE. The scope of State activity varies in different countries and at different times. Generally speaking, as a State grows and becomes more complex the amount of governmental interference and regulation increases.

The primary duties of a Government have been defined by Adam Smith as:

(*a*) "The protection of society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies";

(*b*) "The protection as far as possible of every member of society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it."

(*c*) "The duty of erecting and maintaining those public institutions and those public works which are of such a nature that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals."

It is this last heading which is so elastic, and concerning the extent of the application of which people vary so much, from the Individualist who wishes to restrict the sphere of governmental interference to a minimum, to the Socialist who regards the State as the chief force in expanding and consolidating national life.

Growth of State activity.

In the middle ages public expenditure was chiefly made for purposes of war and religion.

As commerce, trade and industry increased, greater prominence was given to economic aspects, and problems as to State control and direction in these matters became numerous and were continually changing.

The introduction of complex machinery into industry, and the growth of power on the part of special interests and monopolies, coupled with the increased recognition of social responsibility, have necessitated an ever-increasing number of fresh regulations to prevent injury to workers, and to protect the public.

Further reasons to expect a continuous increase of State expenditure are:—

(1) The growth of population.

(2) The growth (unfortunately) of militarism in the great nations of to-day.

We see, therefore, that *State Expenditure is only limited* by the capacity and willingness of the people to pay for it.

The decisive test of governmental regulation must be, then, to show that the general welfare can only thus be best attained, and that the money is being spent to better effect by the State than if it had been left in the pockets of individuals.

United Kingdom, 1904-5.

Expenditure.

Consolidated Fund Services.

(1). National Debt Services: (Interest, Management, Sinking fund, etc).	£27,000,000
(2). Courts of Justice.	1,608,630
(3). Payment to Social Taxation Accounts	1,156,867
	£2,765,497

Supply Services.

(4). Defence: Army	£20,225,000
,, Navy	36,830,000
	£66,055,000
(5). Civil Services (Public Works, Education, Civil Depts, etc.)	£27,450,000
(6). Collection of Revenue	3,093,000
(7). Post Office and Telegraphs	15,593,000
	£18,686,000
GRAND TOTAL—	£141,956,497.

United Kingdom, 1904-5.

Revenue.

Tax Revenue.

Customs	£35,730,000
Excise	30,750,000
Property and Income Tax	31,250,000
Estate Duty	12,350,000
Stamps	7,700,000
Land Tax	750,000
House Duty	2,000,000
TOTAL—	£120,530,000

Non-Tax Revenue.

Post Office	£16,100,000
Telegraphs	3,830,000
Crown Lands	470,000
Suez Canal Dividends	1,014,303
Miscellaneous	1,426,100
TOTAL—	£22,840,403
GRAND TOTAL—	£143,370,403

(5) EXPLANATION OF EXPENDITURE.

(1) *National Debt Services.*

A National Debt is a mortgage on the wealth and industry of the nation.

In times of special difficulty, like during a war, the benefits of which will be felt for many generations, and during which further taxation would ruin the industry of the nation, it is often expedient to raise a loan, on which interest is paid, and which will be eventually repaid. It is a species of deferred taxation.

In England the National Debt was started soon after the Revolution of 1688, and is now about £700,000,000.

In prosperous times we endeavour to pay back portions of the Debt, so as to have fewer expenses in connection with it.

(2) *Courts of Justice and* (4) *Defence.*

This expenditure is in accordance with Adam Smith's first and second statements as to the primary duties of a government.

(3) *Payment to Local Taxation Accounts.*

Government activities can be classed under two heads: (*a*) Imperial, which affect the community as a whole, such as the army; (*b*) Local, which relate to special local interests, *e.g.*, roads.

Others have both a local and imperial interest, such as when we find local administration under central control, *e.g.*, education, poor-law. Local affairs are generally financed by local taxes, *i.e.*, rates, but are sometimes subsidised by the Central Government when directly under its control.

(5) *Civil Services,* (6) *Collection of Revenue and* (7) *Post Office and Telegraphs.*

This expenditure is in accordance with Adam Smith's third statement as to the primary duties of a government.

(6) Explanation of Revenue.

Tax Revenue.

Taxation is much the most important source of Revenue in England.

Maxim in England during the last 70 years that taxes shall be imposed for revenue only.

Some advocate taxation for other purposes: (*a*) *Protection*, or the imposition of an import duty to give a preference to home products. In proportion as this is successful, revenue from this source diminishes. (*b*) *Socialism*, or the employment of taxation as an instrument for securing a more equal distribution of wealth.

Principles of Taxation.

(1) Taxation should be productive.

(2) Taxation should be economical and should therefore (*a*) be inexpensive in collection, (*b*) retard as little as possible the growth of wealth and industry, by falling on net income rather than on capital.

(3) Taxation should be justly distributed, so that the sacrifice on the part of each member of the community involved should be as equal as possible.

(4) Taxation should be elastic, so as to avoid the unnecessary imposition of new taxes.

(5) Taxation should not fall on the necessaries of life.

Taxation is (*a*) *Direct* when it is levied at once on the individual who is intended to bear the burden, *e.g.*, income-tax.

It is advocated as (1) causing the payers to realise their responsibility in the economic conduct of the State, (2) being easier to collect, (3) being more certain of its "incidence" (*i.e.*, on whom it will eventually fall).

(*b*) Indirect when it is levied on goods or services which may be passed on to others, *e.g.*, excise duties on account of which prices are usually raised to the consumer.

It is advocated as (1) being less obvious to the members of the community, and therefore not so hard to bear, (2) being distributed over more objects and classes, and being, therefore, less onerous.

It is apt, however, to dislocate trade, is expensive to collect, and its "incidence" is uncertain.

Most tax systems find it convenient to employ both methods.

Customs and Excise are indirect taxes levied on goods, (*a*) imported from abroad, (*b*) produced at home.

In England they are chiefly imposed on beer, spirits and tobacco.

Income Tax is the most important direct English tax, whose chief merits lie in its productivity and its elasticity. It

is graduated, as it is urged that a rich man can, with equal sacrifice, bear a larger proportionate deduction from his income than a poor one.

Incomes below £160 are exempt and earned incomes are taxed lower than unearned.

Estate duty is imposed when a property above a certain amount is inherited. It is also graduated.

Stamp duties are imposed chiefly on commercial and legal transactions.

The Non-Tax Revenue.

This does not play such a large part in modern times as when the State owned large tracts of territory.

The various items need no explanation.

(7) History of the Budgets in England.

In primitive times a Budget was impossible.

There was very little State expenditure and the sentiment of the tribe served to supply the means for what there was. Later on the various autocratic governments levied dues when they wished, most of which (as in feudal times) were on land. In the 14th century, by the time labour dues had been commuted to money payments, the principle arose that the Estates of the Realm should grant supplies to the Crown and should control its expenditure.

These rights were subsequently lost, but were fought for and regained at the Civil War.

The Revolution of 1688 made Parliamentary control and supervision a reality.

Annual Appropriation Act started.

Establishment of Cabinet government, which caused the Executive to rest on the Legislature, brought financial management before the Lower House. Superiority of Lower House over Upper established with regard to money bills.

(8) Procedure of bringing in a Budget.

The essential characteristics of a good Budget are "economy, timeliness, intelligibility, completeness, unity and accuracy."

Estimates. Consolidated Fund charges known from year to year.

Estimates of remaining expenditure are made by each department.

These are combined and co-ordinated by the Treasury.

Treasury has to estimate yield of proposed taxes.

In House of Commons the Budget is brought in as a whole, the House goes "into Committee."

The whole Cabinet responsible.

No fresh additions can be made after it has been brought in.

This means that those who suggest expenditure must also find the means.

Consolidated Fund charges usually pass without debate.

The House of Lords cannot amend the Budget, and usage has for some time prevented their rejecting it.

If money is suddenly wanted at any other time of the year, in the event, for instance, of a war, a vote of credit can be passed.

(9) CONTROL AND AUDIT.

Revenue is collected by Inland Revenue Office.

Money is paid in to Bank of England to the account of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

For every payment the following steps have to be taken:

(*a*) A demand by the Treasury to the Comptroller based on an Act of Parliament.

(*b*) A grant of credit by the Comptroller.

(*c*) An order to the Bank to transfer money from Comptroller's account to the Paymaster of the particular service.

Auditor-General has following duties:

(*a*) Verification of accounts to see there has been no improper expenditure.

(*b*) Enquiry into the application of the funds.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG WOMEN.

Introduce by referring to the prominence and importance of the subject—how it affects women wage-earners. But when talked about, it is generally men's want of work which is discussed and for which remedies are proposed. What about unemployed women and girls? It is just as bad for them; often worse. The greater number of women do not work for wages, but look after the home, and the menfolk, and the children, and so earn a share of the menfolk's wages. But, according to census figures, nearly five million women and girls do wage-earning work in England and Wales.

Describe roughly the kinds of work—domestic service largest occupation; textile mills and factories, especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire; clothing trades, miscellaneous factories, workrooms, shops, etc. Many of these suffer from unemployment. Causes (*a*) Season trades have slack time every year for many of their workers. (*b*) Times of bad trade. (*c*) Changes of fashion. All these make it worse occasionally. (*d*) Unemployment amongst men often makes that amongst women worse, for two reasons, (1) the wives of unemployed men do work themselves, laundry, cleaning, etc., instead of giving it to others to do, and (2) compete in already crowded labour markets, throwing others out of work.

How unemployed women suffer. For girls and unmarried women, stoppage of work may mean great privation. Some living at home may not be altogether dependent on

their own earnings, but many are, and many help to keep the home together, so that those dependent on them suffer. The sufferings of wives and widows with families dependent on their earnings, when they cannot get work which brings in wages, is almost too cruel to bear thinking of; but thousands of women have to live through that anguish.

Special circumstances of women. Women suffer, on the whole, *more* than men when out of work since:—

(*a*) Their wages are lower when in work and leave less wages for saving against a slack time.

(*b*) There are comparatively few women in trade unions, and those unions which exist are scarcely ever strong enough to give unemployed benefit.

Possible remedies. The causes of unemployment are so varied and the evil so deeply rooted, that no one remedy can meet the difficulty. But we can see certain lines along which to work.

In any attempts made to help the unemployed, unemployed women must be included.

(1) Distress committees should have special sub-committees to deal with women applicants. Where these applicants cannot be found work by means of Labour Exchanges and Employment Registries, special work should be provided as is done for men. In London, workrooms for making clothing have been at work, and have helped hundreds of women to tide over evil times. Manchester, Glasgow, and other places are establishing workrooms, too. In some cases, contracts have been obtained from Guardians and other public bodies. The difficulty of selling the clothes so as not to throw others out of work may be met by giving them, perhaps at cost price, to school committees, or distributing them to the unemployed themselves through Distress Committees.

(2) The Women's Industrial Council, and others interested in the problem, suggest that country colonies should be established for unemployed women, but this has not yet been tried.

(3) Other remedies must be more indirect. Abolition of child labour, better education of workers to enable them to do more skilled and various kinds of work.

Get up-to-date particulars from Central (Unemployed) Body, Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, E.C.

(4) Better organisation of workers to ensure against slackness.

(5) Better organisation of our industrial system to avoid waste and misery of unemployment.

(6) Recognition of the fact that a woman with young children or other helpless dependents should be free to give full attention to her home, and that if there is no other bread winner in the family, the public authority should give adequate maintenance to herself and those dependent on her without any taint of pauperism and without breaking up the home as long as she keeps it properly.

(7) Old age pensions preventing distress for those crowded out of the labour market by younger and stronger workers.

THE REFORM OF THE POOR LAW.

MAJORITY REPORT.

Consider the difference between Poor Law Relief and Charity. Charity is supported by voluntary gifts from persons who wish to give; Poor Law Relief is taken as a tax, and must be paid by all ratepayers whether they wish it or not.

To whom is Poor Law Relief given?

1. Persons incapable of earning their own living, *e.g.*, old people, children, sick people, imbeciles, cripples, etc.

Not all these have Poor Law relief. It is the law that parents must support their children, and children their parents, if they can. Again, some old people have savings; some orphans are adopted by friends; sick people may belong to a friendly society, and so on. When all else fails, they apply to the Poor Law.

2. Persons who might earn their own living, but are too lazy or vicious or self-indulgent. Drink brings more people to the workhouse than any other cause, and much illness is due to leading a bad life.

3. Persons who would be glad to earn their own living, but cannot find work which they can do. Perhaps they have never learned a trade, perhaps their trade is slack; they may have savings, or they may get help from their union or from friends. If not, they apply to Distress Committees or to the Poor Law.

What sort of help do these people now get, and how might it be improved?

1. (*a*) The old people—rather less than a third of those being helped are in the workhouse or infirmary. They are well fed and looked after, and generally kindly treated. But the workhouse is seldom a happy place for them; partly because they have to live with all sorts of people, some of them very rough; partly because the workhouse is often very large, containing thousands of inmates. This means that discipline has to be very strict, and life becomes dull and monotonous. In a few places small homes have been provided for the well-behaved old people; these are much more comfortable and may be much less expensive than the large workhouses.

Improvement suggested: Small homes in every union.

The remainder of the old people receive allowances in their own homes—out-door relief. They is no rule how much they shall have, and some get much too little. Others are having relief who have enough to live on without it, or whose children ought to keep them. This is not fair to the ratepayers, who may be quite poor themselves. Sometimes the old people are living

in a very neglected condition and very miserable. *Improvement suggested*: More care to be taken that relief is given only to those in need, that it is sufficient, that the old people receiving it are properly looked after, and that those who cannot be looked after shall be brought into an infirmary or a home.

(*b*) The children: These are cared for in many different ways.

i. Boarding out, in a working man's family, where they are treated just as other children, at a cost of 3/- a week.

ii. Schools or small Homes. Both these are very good when well managed, but are sometimes made too expensive. It is not fair to ask ratepayers to pay 20/- a week to maintain a destitute child when they cannot afford as much for their own children.

iii. In the workhouse. Most people acknowledge this to be very bad for the children, and in some places it is not allowed. But many thousands are still in workhouses.

iv. Most of the children are living at home with their parents (either widows or unable to earn a living) who receive out-relief to help them to support their families. These have not been properly looked after by the Guardians, and are sometimes neglected, badly nourished, and living in bad surroundings.

Improvement suggested: That more children should be boarded out, that none should be kept in the workhouse, and that the schools and homes should be kept simple and inexpensive. "Out-relief" children should be carefully looked after, and if their parents are bad should be taken away from them, and the parents made to work.

(*c*) The Sick. Those who go into the infirmaries are nearly always well cared for, with good nursing and doctors. Those who stay at home can have the doctor free of charge. Many call in the Poor Law doctor who could provide for their own illness; many have no doctor when they need one because they do not like to apply to the Poor Law, and have made no provision. *Improvement suggested*: That Provident Dispensaries should be started all over the country through which everyone might secure medical attendance when ill, by paying a very small weekly sum when well.

(*d*) Imbeciles, cripples, epileptics, etc. These are at present generally left in the workhouse, without the special treatment which might make their lives happier and more useful. *Improvement suggested*: Special homes for each kind of inmate, where they would be looked after by persons understanding their special needs.

2. Persons who ought to earn their own living. There are large numbers of these; some tramp the country, begging or stealing, and getting Poor Law relief wherever they want it; others go into the workhouse for a few days or weeks to get cured of illness brought on by drink or immorality; others

work a little now and again, and go to the workhouse when they are tired of it. In some workhouses they are made to work, in others they do very little. *Improvements suggested*: That all people of this sort should be sent to a labour colony, where they would be made to work for their living.

3. Persons who would be glad to earn their living if they could. Some of these get Poor Law relief in the workhouse, some get short jobs of work from the Distress Committees, and are no better off when they are done. *Improvement suggested*: Labour colonies where some might be taught to work on the land, etc., emigration for some. Insurance for all, which would provide those out of work with an allowance while they looked for new work. Labour Exchanges to make it more easy to find work.

THE REFORM OF THE POOR LAW.

THE MINORITY REPORT.

Read.

1. The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission.
2. Other Publications of the National Committee to Promote the Break-up of the Poor Law.

Public opinion has been dissatisfied for a considerable period with the methods of relieving distress, and therefore in 1905 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the methods of giving relief, and the reasons why so much money was spent with such poor results. This year the Commission issued its Report, one signed by the Majority of the Commissioners, which advocated the formation of a new body to deal with distress, and the other signed by Mrs. Sidney Webb, the Rev. Russell Wakefield, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mr. Chandler, which proposed practically to hand over most of the duties of the Boards of Guardians to County and Borough Councils, and thus do away with the Guardians altogether. A National Committee, consisting of more than ten thousand people has been formed to urge that the proposals contained in the Minority Report should be carried into effect, and therefore it is necessary for us to know exactly what it is proposed to do.

THE CHILDREN.

The County Councils, through their Education Committees, have to provide education, medical inspection and sometimes food for the children attending their schools. There are other children for whom the Boards of Guardians have to provide these things. Evidently it would be wiser and more economical to hand over the care of all children of school age to the Education Committee of the County Council. Undoubtedly very many children are not properly cared for. Sometimes they suffer from minor ailments, which if attended to in time, might save them much suffering when they grow up. A boy may suffer from some disease of the eyes. If it is cured he

will grow up a strong man, able to do his proper work in the world, but if allowed to become worse he will get blind and thus become a burden on the people. The Guardians wait till the parents are destitute and come to them, but it would be the duty of the Education Committee to seek out such cases and deal with them at once instead of waiting until they were brought along. Thus many more children would have a chance of growing up strong and healthy.

THE SICK.

The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission says that sick people should be dealt with by the Public Health Committees of the Borough or County Councils. The Medical Officer of Health searches out cases of infectious illness because he is always anxious that his annual reports should show a low death rate. There are, however, many diseases, such as consumption, which are dangerous to the community, although they are not dealt with by any public authority until the afflicted breadwinner is driven by sheer destitution to seek the aid of the poor law. If the Medical Officer of Health had the care of all the sick poor in his district he would very quickly see that medical aid was given in the early stages of disease, when it is most needed, intead of waiting, as the Guardians do, until the sick have spent all their money and are advanced in their illness.

THE MENTALLY AFFLICTED.

At present the County Councils provide for some of the lunatics and idiots, while others are under the care of the Boards of Guardians. This is a wasteful way of doing things, and everyone is able to see how much better it would be for all who are not of sound mind to be in the charge of one authority. That authority, says the Minority Report, should be the County Council.

THE AGED.

It seems unfair that people who have worked hard all their lives should at last be forced to the degradation of seeking poor relief, especially when such relief now prevents honest workers, brought down by illness or misfortune, from receiving an old age pension. The care of the aged should be taken out of the hands of the Boards of Guardians and placed in the hands of the Pension Committees, pensions being given to those persons settled in the locality who could and would live decently by their aid, while the others would be placed in homes where they would receive proper care.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Their remain the Unempoyed, just now a very big problem. For these, says the Minority Report, a new National Authority is urgently required which would establish Labour Exchanges, promote trade union assurance against unemployment, regularise the national demand for labour, and suppress

excessive hours of work and the illegitimate use of boy and girl labour. It would also see that training with board and lodging was given to the able-bodied unemployed, while their wives and children would be given adequate relief.

NOTES OF LESSON ON GAMBLING.

AIM.—To impress upon girls the responsibility of using money aright.

MONEY.—What it is—How we obtain it—what it is used for—good use—bad use—economy—wise economy—foolish economy.

Give definition of money *as a means of exchange.* Find out if girls know anything about other things besides *coins* being used for exchange and therefore as *money.* Point out the advantages and pleasure of earning money rather than of getting it "for nothing."

Then its right and wrong uses for ourselves and others. *Thrift*—when we ought to save and why. The pleasure of "saving up" for something. The bad effect of having what you want *at once* and paying for it when you can.

Instance. The newspaper advertisements inviting young persons to marry and furnish on the hire system, encouraging them to saddle themselves with debts which will have to be paid off just when the difficulties and expenses of young married people are likely to begin.

ECONOMY.—Wise and foolish.

Economy is rather the *wise use* of money than the saving of it.

Instance. It is wiser to pay a good price for a good and comfortable pair of boots or shoes which will keep out wet and enable the wearer to walk and stand without getting over tired, than it is to buy a cheap and uncomfortable pair in order to put another shilling in the savings bank to be spent on a "treat" or a Bank Holiday.

Economy of *strength, health,* and *time* as well as of money.

RESPONSIBILITY for use of all our natural endowments, such as health, good looks, brains, etc., and of those things which come to us through our own exertions such as possessions and *money.*

No right to waste our health and strength, to misuse our personal attractions to lead others astray—no right to neglect our minds to let them lie idle or occupied with foolish or wrong things; no right to keep our possessions selfishly to ourselves, but should use them for others as well as ourselves.

GAMBLING.—What it is.

Getting or trying to get something which belongs to someone else, and to *get it for nothing, without working for it or giving anything in return.*

WHY it is wrong.

Because money, like health, beauty, strength, etc., is a *trust from God.* To try to get other people's money without doing anything in return for it is to be dishonest.

If one person wins some other person loses, but even *if all could win* and *no one lose* gambling would still be *dishonest. Why?* Because the gambler wants to get something without paying for it and that we all know is to be *dishonest.*

WHAT money means.

It means power over other people's lives. If one of us wants a nice home, so many men must give their time and strength to the making of it—if we want only an ounce of sweets, somebody's time and strength goes to the making of them, and *if we can pay people for them* we have a right to use other people's lives to work for us—but if we want to get a house or an ounce of sweets without paying for them—say by *gambling in a lottery,* we are trying to get the results of other people's work without doing anything ourselves in return.

KINDS of Gambling.

Not only horse-racing and betting, but all kinds of competitions, such as hidden-word competitions, limericks, etc., where *chance* comes in, where one or two only can gain and all the others must lose and where the winners may pocket large sums of money for which they give nothing in return.

BAD influence of Newspapers.

The majority of people who engage in some form of gambling never think of its being dishonest. Everyone does it, and the newspapers are full of reports of successful gambling and of encouragement to readers to gamble too, but when we think seriously about it we can hardly fail to see that it is wrong.

NOTES OF LESSON ON HALF-TIMERS.

Read "Boy and Girl Labour," by N. Adler and R. H. Tawney.*

CLASS.—Girls over fourteen. TIME.—About 30 minutes.

AIM.—To impress girls with their responsibility for the upbringing of future citizens and with a sense of the evils caused by overwork.

INTRODUCTION.—A Committee of the Board of Education presented its report last August (1909), on the subject of Half-time. The newspapers all over the country published summaries of this report and articles on it, and the papers in the north of England, where the half-time system is in operation, devoted much space to a discussion of the matter. Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Education, in a speech at Southampton, expressed his concurrence with the opinion expressed in the report that the system must be abolished.

The leading articles in the "Morning Post" for the 4th August, and in the "Daily News" for the same date could be handed round.

DEFINITION.—Half-timers are boys and girls from 12 to 14 years of age, who, by law, are permitted to work part of every day in both factory and school. The work in the factory is done alternately in the morning or the afternoon, from 6 or 6-30 to 12 or 12-30, or from 1-15 to 5-15 or 5-45. In the morning shift 2 hours' work is done before the half-hour allowed for breakfast arrives.

Endeavour to elicit definition. Half of the time is still spent where? (at school). Read paragraph 34 of the Inter-Departmental Committee's Report (Cd. 4791—price 2½d.) Point out that the whole of all "blue books" is not so dull as it is reputed to be.

* A list of the publications of the Women's Industrial Council will be found on page 3 of cover. They will be found most useful for further lessons.

LOCALITY.—There are no half-timers in London. There is "partial exemption" at 11 years of age in agricultural districts in the South of England,—but this kind of "partial exemption" consists usually of entire absence from school during certain months when there is a great demand for work in the fields.

Do girls know anyone who has lived in the north? What do they think as to the wisdom of letting children in London go out to work before, between or after their school hours, or work at home (match-box making)?

Half-timers are chiefly found in the cotton districts of Lancashire and the woollen districts of Yorkshire. There are about 40,000 in all.

Read descriptions of cotton mills and worsted factories and of the miscellaneous work done by children in them.

BYE-LAWS OF COUNCILS.—The London County Council may rightly feel proud of having done something to prevent child-labour in London. The law of the land would at present permit "half-time" if the local bye-laws provided for it.

Are the girls proud of being Londoners, and if so, why?

The County Councils are elected bodies and, although the process may be slow, they can be made to express the opinions of the people living in the district. The great want of interest in local politics in London should be emphasised.

Whitman speaks of "the never-ending audacity of elected persons," but they are "audacious" only because electors do not expect enough from them.

REASONS FOR EMPLOYING CHILDREN.—1. The need for a collective wage sufficient for the family needs.

Is there more poverty in Bradford and Bolton than in London and Newcastle?

2. It is said to be better to train children at an early age. But, as a matter of fact, many half-timers are mostly "fetching and carrying" and not learning much.

If special dexterity of finger is needed, would it not be still better to return to sending children of 6 to the factory, as was done when the factory system was first started?

3. It is what the parents did when young.

There can be a wise belief in the feasibility of improving the world as well as a foolish credulity as to all evil suddenly coming to an end. Refer to great revolutions in belief and action in the past,—for instance, changes in methods of carrying on work, slavery, feudalism, cottage industries, factories, capitalism. What will the future of society be?

REASONS AGAINST EMPLOYING CHILDREN.—1. Child's need to develop its faculties in the proper order. (Little children like fairy stories. Desire for a great variety of information usually gets less as people get older; hence need for "general education" while you are young).

Ask what old people are like. Can they usually be argued with profitably? Experience versus boldness and quickness.

2. Too much work of one kind bad for everyone, and routine work ought not to begin young.

Is it possible to be too industrious? Effects of overwork.

3. The work at school done after half a day at a factory is wasted, and the "half-timers" upset the rest of the class.

At what age, if ever, did you first begin to care about reading? Do you care for it when you are tired?

HEALTH.—Bad effect on health in later life. Are factories healthy? Can children endure strain and unhealthy conditions as well as adults can?

CHARACTER.—Can children choose what to imitate and what to avoid as well as grown up people?

Should you eat your corn before it is ripe? Men and women may wear themselves out, bodily and mentally, by premature and excessive work.

ECONOMIC.—Large numbers of boys are discharged from the mills in Bradford at ages from 16 to 20, who have not acquired any skill of service to other masters.

Is it not better to learn a good trade even if the wages at first are small, than to earn comparatively large amounts at 14 and later on run a great risk of not finding employment or only very badly paid employment?

Children's labour may replace that of men and women.

SOCIAL.—Every improvement in the education of the workers tends to bring the different classes nearer together and to lessen the power of the educated or richer classes.

(Some teachers may enquire whether there is a class-war: others will not!)

NEED FOR LEGISLATION.—The good employers and the good parents have to remember that other employers may take their trade or other people's children get a start at the mills and obtain promotion by precedence: the law, however, can prevent methods of advancing in front of others which are harmful.

How far is it possible to make people good by Act of Parliament? Are arguments against it ever advanced when it is proposed to protect the property of the rich and not to increase the health while at work, the rights and opportunities of the workers?

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

Reasons for emigration of women.

In England there are 1,250,000 more women than men. Work is often scarce and wages are low. There is too much competition. In Canada there are 150,000 more men than women.

How to emigrate.

The British Women's Emigration Association, at the Imperial Institute, S.W., makes up parties and sends out women under the care of a responsible matron. The journey takes about a week. Cost of the ocean ticket £5 10s., and of the rail ticket according to the length of the inland journey. Total expense to Montreal £6 11s. 3d., to Toronto £7 13s. 7d., to Winnipeg £10 10s. There is a loan fund which lends part of the passage money in some cases, to be paid back by degrees without interest.

The advantages of life in Canada.

Employment at good wages can always be got by girls willing to do domestic work. Servants, especially in the country districts, are treated as members of the family and share in the pleasures as well as in the work of the family. Previous experience is not required. Employers are willing to teach those who are ready to learn Canadian ways.

The houses in the towns are very well fitted with every convenience, and can be more easily kept clean than in this country with its fogs and smuts.

The air in Canada is pure and dry, the sun shines brightly all the year round. The summers are hot, the winters (except in British Columbia) very cold. The climate is very healthy and invigorating.

In Canada no woman is served with drink in the public bars, no women are employed to sell drink. In Toronto, the chief town in Ontario, the public houses are closed from Saturday evening at 7 o'clock, until 10 o'clock on Monday morning.

Disadvantages of emigrating to Canada.

The distance from home, the change of habits, the feeling of loneliness and homesickness are a disadvantage for the first year or so. But the kindness and friendliness of the Canadians soon make a new-comer feel at home.

The kind of emigrants wanted in Canada.

Canada is only willing to receive those who are healthy and willing and able to work. The Government sends back to England any new-comer who becomes a charge to the country within 2 years of arrival, by being in an asylum or prison, or unable to support himself or herself. Any person who is weak in mind, morals, or health, is not fitted for life in Canada.

Work and wages in Canada.

Young women can get good pay in factory work or dressmaking, but have to pay about 12/6 a week for board and lodging.

It is better to go as a "domestic help" with board and lodging and not less than £20 a year, paid monthly.

The work is often hard but the pay is good, and every steady and industrious girl has a chance to improve her position. All are workers in Canada, you see neither idle rich nor idle poor. It is a busy country where everyone has a good chance to get on and make a comfortable home.

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